



A
R E V I E W
OF THE PRESENT
ADMINISTRATION.



[Price One Shilling.]

Great Britain and Ireland. *Number*

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W. E. L. V.



OF THE

ADMINISTRATION.

Price One Shilling

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P R E S E N T

ADMINISTRATION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. BECKET, Corner of the Adelphi,
in the Strand. MDCCLXXIV.

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R. E. V. E. W.

OF THE



ADMINISTRATION

L O N D O N :

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is much to be regretted by the friends of this country, that there are so many persons who industriously endeavour to raise popular clamour and discontent, by spreading of false alarms to excite jealous apprehensions in the people, and create dissatisfaction and disrespect towards government, which is equally prejudicial to their moral, as well as political interest; and so few men of character, who are equally above flattering the errors and vices of the age, as above meanly condescending to indulge the prejudiced opinions, and encourage the ill founded suggestions of the vulgar, but from a sincere regard to truth, and a noble and patriotic zeal for the laws and constitution of their country, do not oftener engage in the praiseworthy task of endeavouring to draw from error the perverted minds of deluded men, and to root out that dislike towards their rulers, that artful and designing ones, through party rage and malignancy of disposition, too frequently inculcate, to show which are the real friends to their
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country. Men who engage in the public service, and constantly and steadily pursue its welfare without disturbing of its repose, or men who act upon the narrow principle of party, and most likely slaves to a faction, and as such can never be consistent with themselves, and too frequently as void of principle as justice, constantly harangues with the most invective malice every act of the opposition, and assiduously endeavour to create public commotion, by alarming the people with fears of the danger of their liberties, while themselves alone are the invaders of them. Such factious and disappointed men, and such there always will be, seldom fail to find followers amongst the people of this kingdom, where the most illiterate are taught to think it wisdom to speculate on political affairs, and are at liberty to form their own notions and principles of right and wrong, and where the wicked, without regard to laws civil, or moral, give loose to passion, defamation and slander.—For besides the natural check, human nature feels at the opposition to self opinion and government, which strongly operates on minds averse to think rightly, and whose reason being per-

perversed by prejudice are easily led away by the specious arguments of designing men, whom the farther we trace the spring of their actions, the more we shall be shocked at the principles upon which they act.

*Criminibus terrere novis, et spargere voces
In vulgam ambiguas, et quærere conscius arma.*

Their constant endeavours being to raise in the people jealousy and mistrust of their governors, and to revoke that virtuous confidence and respect to government, that is so essentially necessary to the happiness of every individual, and the welfare of states in general.

That glorious and noble freedom, the liberty of the press, from the shocking abuses of it, is pregnant with those dangerous consequences; from its licentiousness it is so favourable an instrument to the propagation of falsehood, vice and slander, that the cause of truth and virtue fall victims to the almost general usurpation.

The noble Lord, who lately prosecuted the printer of a defamatory libel, has by his spirit and perseverance rendered an

essential service to his country in general. The fatal consequence to government, laws and morals, the prostitution of that valuable liberty threatened, has long since required restriction ; to check it without invading of its freedom, the law has left but one recourse, that of prosecution, and it is greatly to be wished that other ministers would proceed in the same public-spirited manner ; the kingdom would soon experience the happy effects. —The press, instead of being the vehicle for defamation, abuse, and falsehood, would then be the register of facts—the memorials of honour, the pleasing incentive to virtue and morals—the characters of virtuous men would not then be held out blackened with the most infamous scandal, nor the tenor of their actions perverted by the pen of envy and malignity.

The characters of public ministers are sacred ; they are responsible to their sovereign and their country for their actions ; every misrepresentation of them is then the more invidious, every malicious attack upon their honour the more reprehensible : the more exalted their station, the greater is the crime of defamation ;

mation ; no punishment within our laws is too great, no hardships too severe for these assassins, whose works are pregnant with the dangerous consequences of the subversion of order, the dissolution of manners, the annihilation of morals. Indeed, from such a resolution as his lordship's becoming universal, the most perfect tranquillity might ensue, a reformation of manners take place, a change happy for virtue and these kingdoms might be expected from it.

The many illiberal reflections cast upon his lordship for his perseverance, does honour to his conduct : it would be invidious to imagine that he was actuated by sinister views, or even from that just resentment which a nice sense of honour feels at the least imputation of guilt ; but from far nobler ends, the good of his country in general. And however loud the cry may be for mercy, is it a time in the midst of an evil complained of to show it ? Would it be a check, or an indulgence to it ? It would be a mockery of justice, and an encouragement to future slander.—The noblest virtues have a boundary line of action ; when extended beyond they
cease

cease being such; and there are times when the pleasing exercise of humanity and mercy is impolitic and even dangerous :—such is the present *.

* Nothing can be more dangerous to the freedom and government of states, than permitting these free communications. While men have so easy a conveyance to spread falsehood, they easily effect the most horrid purposes. Besides the injury private persons feel from the vile attacks upon their honour and reputation, government no less experiences the evil; and though its stability may not be affected, commotions may be frequently raised, that in time they produce disagreeable consequences; surely then it requires some restriction, when such flagrant abuses are so frequent, that neither the most public or private virtue are free from its malicious attacks.

A
R E V I E W
OF THE PRESENT
ADMINISTRATION.

THE critical situation of both our foreign and domestic affairs, about the year 1770, when the present noble Lord took the lead in administration, was equally alarming to ourselves as it was favourable to the watchful eye of our enemies. The domestic commotions raised by a weak and wicked faction, which time has since proved its imbecility, and the desertion of those men who were from their character, and reputable station in life, esteemed the pillars of the cause, and whom the specious appearances of the intention of the faction imposed upon their mistaken zeal, and drew them to its adherence, has fully shown their views were *interest*, and destitute of that public regard they
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so strongly professed. The seeds of sedition which were with such assiduity sown among the people, created dissensions disagreeable to government, as it must ever give concern to upright men who act upon the firm and steady principle of public virtue, to see a multitude misled and imposed upon by the false and wicked pretensions of men, who, under the mask of patriotism, and profession of public spirit, allure the people to ends destructive of their general happiness. Men of no party, but of feelings that do honour to our nature, saw with indignation and concern the people led away with false notions of liberty, and made a prey to their groundless fears and jealousies excited by men of the most abandoned and profligate principles—the indignity offered even to the sacred person of majesty, shocking to a civilized state, and even countenanced by corporate bodies, were so many horrid proofs of the power that artful men may acquire by indulging the passions of the populace, and the avidity that people in general credit things that carries the least specious appearance, and make us regret the facility that a multitude may be deluded, and made to pursue things contrary to their real interest ;

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whilst it must hint to us the necessity of a rigorous exertion of the laws, to quiet in its infancy the tumult of a growing faction.

In the then posture of affairs, when the most sacred laws were trampled on with impunity, and the order of government thrown almost into confusion by the outrage of a party armed with all that impudence that a headstrong perverseness could inspire; to take the lead of government in the midst of outrage and dissention, with all the prejudiced opinions to encounter, and threatened with transactions of the enemy of the utmost importance to the tranquillity of the kingdom, was a task equal to the abilities of few, but which the nation has happily experienced under the administration of the present noble Lord: The stability and firmness with which he conducted our domestic affairs through a sea of trouble, the facility with which he conquered this alarming faction, will record his name to posterity with that reverence and honour that is due from this country to so great a minister, and with the warmest esteem of those who have the welfare of their country at heart.

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The weak state of our naval defence at that time, and the apparent designs of the court of Spain, required a minister at the helm, of the most experienced abilities; firm and intrepid, yet of foresight in his deliberation, and politic in his decision. Had that warmth and hastiness of determination, with that strong inclination for war prevailed in our councils as in a late popular administration, these kingdoms would have groaned under the weakness of such resolution, and the people, by an additional weight of taxes, that the most rigid oeconomy might be years before it overcame, severely felt the errors of such determination.—The nation now happily experience the wisdom of those measures that procured restitution and satisfaction to the honour and dignity of the crown, without engaging in all the horrors of a war, the consequence of which would have been the involving the nation in ruin.—And it may be ventured as a doubt, whether the utmost exertion of our *then* relaxed strength would have been able to have withstood the formidable force of Spain, had the other branch of the house of Bourbon joined her in the attack; and it may be said, the firmness and wisdom of the minister, and

and the recollection of the courage and vigilance of our troops, and the bravery of our seamen of the last war, which for a moment the Spaniards lost sight of, made them again stoop submissively to the court of Great Britain. Thus by a negociation which reflects the greatest honour on the abilities of the minister, the fatal consequences of a war were happily prevented, whilst the honour and dignity of the crown was steadily preserved. This treaty, tho' the most wise and politic that could be formed, met with opposers, who as usual were loud in their declamations against it.—But let them recollect the great source of our national burdens, and remember that England groans under the weight of her *German* conquests; let them reflect, the *then* state of our navy, finances, and situation, and they will revere the statesmen who preserved the nation from a step so fatal to its interest, and accord that the minister who preserves a nation's peace deserves more of their country's praise, than the one that plunges into the distresses of a war, although a second America might be acquired. *Melior, tutiorquè est certa pax, quam sperata victoria.*

Men who look no farther than the present face of things, without thinking of the great chain of consequences, resulting from every state decision, however trivial to appearances, will seldom agree with those who more maturely consider and weigh every proposition with their consequences, and who decide not from passion or any narrow principle or particular view, but on that noble scale of action, *the general good*; and I am apt to think there are many respectable men, who form their judgment only from a superficial view of things, join an opposition, that on their more considerate attention they would condemn; while at the same time there are others, who out of factious and restless dispositions, rail and condemn every act of administration, and endeavour by wrong interpretations and false alarms to raise the public commotion, and wickedly exult in the faction they have raised, whilst their vanity is pleased with the wrong directed blast of popular applause. These men, who are actuated by no other view than opposition to government, take every occasion from a false view of things to represent them according to the malignancy of their own dispositions.

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There has been few administrations wherein so many important affairs have been agitated as in the present, and none wherein they have been conducted with greater spirit and moderation, and settled with greater advantage to the nation in general. The affairs of the East-India Company could not be looked upon by a minister that had the least regard for the welfare of his country, but with the utmost concern and consternation; so great and flourishing a body on the eve of bankruptcy, brought on by the avariciousness of a few individuals. The cause of widows and of orphans cried aloud for justice and protection from the rapacious hand of its ambitious betrayers; the benignity of government stepped forward at the crisis, and saved her from the ruin that must inevitably have followed her non interposition. The increasing opulence of this company, from a body of merchants confined by charter to the employment of six ships and six pinnaces, to become sovereigns of extensive kingdoms, with an army of sixty thousand men at command, it was no wonder the original constitution, planned for a society of merchants to conduct their commerce, was too defective to govern an empire,

empire. From the great extent of territory they have acquired, they undoubtedly became an object of importance to government; the mal-administration of their commercial, as well as may be said their *national* affairs, required the immediate attention of the legislature.

To trace the cause of their present misfortunes, we shall find it began when the thoughts of the company were extended beyond the limits of commercial views, to that of sovereignty, and beyond the bounds prescribed by the laws of wisdom and policy to corporate or chartered bodies. From the time they began to taste the rancorous sweets of plunder and rapine, the fair and honourable advantages of legal commerce, and those laws of justice that should guide them were forgotten, and the solicitude of the merchant gave way for the usurpation of the most daring tyranny; thus from the time that the ideas of sovereignty roused an insatiable thirst for power, the vices that always accompany an ungoverned ambition took root in every proceeding of the company; and for the want of a supreme direction and legislature, and a regular
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code of laws to govern, that inconsistency and anarchy that has for some time disgraced their proceedings took place; private gain and advantage overswayed every consideration of public benefit, and the honour of the English nation was lost in the rapacity of those invaders of the rights of mankind; whom the farther we look into their transactions, the more we shall be shocked with crimes, that will make us shrink with horror, till the repetition of them, which rise in as constant succession as the morning sun, will make our feelings as callous as the hearts of the perpetrators, who lured with the glitter of wealth, lost all the feelings of humanity, and trampled upon all the laws both human and divine, and gave loose to that rapacity and injustice that will forever stamp the Asiatics with the most horrid ideas of the English nation in general. But it is to be hoped that our national character, in which humanity and justice stand the most conspicuous, will be retrieved in those distant kingdoms, by the wisdom and conduct of those gentlemen who are now engaged in the service. The same injustice and violence that they exerted to gain their acquisitions, in which the
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most solemn treaties were mocked at, and the sacred tie of oaths, almost in the same breath as sworn, been *violated*—and in that very instant, that they called the *Divine Being* to witness their asseveration, *forfeited* them—with the same regard to justice they have continued to govern. The oppressive hand of power has been severely felt by the Europeans as well as the natives; the seizing and confining of free merchants, on pretence that they had acted contrary to the laws of the company, or rather against a monopoly, is a most daring violation of the rights of mankind. And, respecting their *perwannahs*, no policy can justify them. Monopolies in themselves are so unjust and destructive to society in general, that they are the bane of commerce; but when the inflicting of punishment on those who offend against them is in the power of the monopolizers, no idea of tyranny that history presents us with, ever can paint the horrors that may be expected from a power lodged in such dangerous hands; the lives and properties of persons, who, from a principle of virtue, could not act in concert with them, become exposed to the most vindictive malice; their

their ruin and loss of property, which has been experienced, will too frequently give proofs of the truth of it. These evils increased in the confusion of the company, as they sought to extricate themselves from their difficulties, by adding violence to injustice, and cruelty to oppression; the natives as well as Europeans most earnestly sought for a supreme jurisdiction, where they might expect that justice done them their cause merited: and which from the imperfection of our nature never can be expected from an interested party. These numerous evils, which in time would have caused the loss of their territories in Bengal, (as indeed it may be said it is owing to the fortunate difference of the *Mahomedans* and *Hindoos*, that they have preserved so long,) and would have been the ruin of the company, the present act for establishing certain regulations for the management of their affairs is most happily adapted to prevent, as also from its falling into the same misfortunes: The regulations in Europe are wisely planned to insure stability to the company, and advantage to the public in general; the alteration of the court of directors will now give an opportunity for men to study the welfare of

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the company, and time to pursue and effect plans for its regulation, which the short space of one year would not admit of; as well as that just restriction of persons not having been returned from India for the space of two years, being chosen into the direction, will prevent the selfish principle of human nature having an opportunity of acting, and which we have experienced has governed the company so long. It ought to be the primitive object of a wise legislature, to prevent the natural vices of mankind from having an opportunity of acting; as when they are free they sway every principle of virtue, and operate to the universal prejudice of society.—The advantages resulting from the regulation of the voters are so great, that all the other regulations would nearly have been ineffectual without it. The late form of election was one great cause of the late errors; while men with no other quality to recommend them but their wealth, found no difficulty to obtain a seat in the direction, it must not be wondered at that inconsistency, and absurdity prevailed so much in their administration; the power of a supreme direction was lost in party divisions; the general good of the company sacrificed to a few individuals.

individuals. The regulations that are to take place in India are founded upon the same general principle of wisdom and policy ; to preserve in those distant kingdoms, which may be said to be the ordeal trial to virtue, the impartial administration of justice, the protection of the people, and the prosperity of the company. The legislative and executive power being before in a great degree invested in the company, the necessity of a new regulation must be strikingly evident. The natives as well as Europeans may now expect the justice of our laws, and may trade with the security and protection of British subjects. The restriction of persons under government from accepting presents, will have the most happy effect ; it will forcibly operate for the advantage of the company, as it removes from the hands of individuals, the opportunity of negotiating affairs destructive to the interest of the company, and relieves the natives from those arbitrary exactions, however received under the denomination of *presents* and *free gifts*. The present act cannot fail to effect the most desired regulations, and prevent for the future that abuse of power which has so nearly been the ruin of the company, and effect the

great end of government, securing the liberty and property of the subjects.

We see, by the near failure of the East-India company, the necessity of government interfering, and regulating corporate and chartered bodies. This extensive company, by an unexampled success, grew too ponderous and mighty for its foundation. Commercial companies, however pregnant with advantages to a state, will in time extend beyond their proper limits, and be productive of great and oppressive evils; the end of commerce being too frequently mistaken to consist *only* in gain, the pleas of humanity and justice sway but little when the passion of avarice is awakened; the powerful persuasion of a sudden acquisition of wealth, bars every consideration that may impede its course or check its desire. This has been the primitive cause of their misfortunes; but we may now hope to see, by those judicious regulations and restrictions, the company once more in a flourishing situation, and on a more permanent foundation than when exulting in acts of oppression and cruelty, and sharing with profuseness the plunder of their tyranny.

Tho' government, by its interposition, has done a most essential service to the public;

lic; yet more is required to perfect what they have begun. The constitution must be changed. The company possess large and extensive dominions, that produce an annual revenue of millions, which is inconsistent for any power but the *supreme* in government to hold. Whilst they continue under the jurisdiction of men, who from their connexions cannot be supposed to be actuated by those generous and noble principles that the elements of laws, that give stability, strength and happiness to kingdoms are founded on, which by no means admit of being considered on the narrow contracted scale which the principles of gain too frequently creates, and which has guided their proceedings; the tyranny and anarchy that has taken root never will be eradicated; but it is to be hoped that the legislature, who has carefully watched over the rights of the public, will not be forgetful of this further claim; and remember that whilst government is silent on this head, it loses its dignity, and forgets the principal end of its institution, —The protection and happiness of individuals.

The colonies have particularly engaged the attention of administration. The

want of a proper enquiry, and regulations conducted with spirit and moderation, has greatly been the cause of the late unhappy disturbances: nothing is more to be desired by the well wishers to this kingdom than an unanimity and friendship between them and Great Britain; but the measures that have hitherto been pursued, have been so far from producing a reconciliation, that they have tended only to irritate and expose the weakness of government, and by paying too great an attention and deference to the false representations of interested men, they have sunk that authority, whose dignity should alone have been able to enforce obedience.

The stricter view we take of colonies in general, the stronger we shall find their obligations to their parent state. Their acquisition, whether by conquest or discovery, may in general be said to be *extent of empire expensively acquired*. The long series of years before they arrive at the period of being an advantage to their parent country, will cause the ballance for ages to be against it; the expence of supporting and protecting them must necessarily cause an increase of taxes, which when they become able, it is but strict natural justice they should

should bear their part towards defraying those expences, their bringing to maturity, their protection and support, has burthened their parent country with, and make them lament the conquests they have made, whilst the colonies reap the advantages of their toil, their blood and property. An estate in a colony of such fertility as America, would be a most desirable situation, were another state to defend and protect them, to guard them from the invasion of enemies, and they to bear no part of the expences. But to reduce the question simply thus, and let the warmest advocates for the colonies declare, if a man guards and protects another man's life and property at the hazard of his own, does he not deserve recompence? does not justice allow it him? surely yes: then how much more in the present instance? Those great and flourishing colonies which have cost Great Britain such amazing sums of money, and the annual sum of more than 1,557,000*l.* sterling, and so many lives to conquer and protect, has by her generosity and attention to their welfare raised them to a situation, taken in every point of view, preferable to her own; and by one single benevolent but impolitic act, almost broke the bond of their dependance,

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the securing the back settlements ; from which we may trace the spring of their disobedience : as from thence they had nothing to fear from that enemy, whose watchfulness would always have kept them in mind of their actual dependance on Great Britain for protection, and thereby preserved a constant obedience to our laws ; which as soon as they were made secure, they that moment, by the instigation of some of their factious members, thought themselves independent, forgot their obligations to Great Britain, their importance increased with that flattering idea, and the first demand for retribution we experienced their resolution to realize it. But as evils past admit of no alleviation, but are striking lessons for the future, it will show that extensive colonies must feel some stronger tie than obligation to force obedience, and none more likely to produce it, than a sense of dependance. It is inconsistent with true policy to make colonies too independent ; the stronger they feel their dependence, the more implicit will be their obedience. Virtues that operate forceably on men of principle, must never be imagined will universally on a body of people ; and Great Britain, by her benevolence thinking to
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secure the happiness of the colonies, has been the remote cause of their disobedience. The right of Great Britain to tax the colonies has been warmly disputed; innumerable arguments have been made use of both for and against: but their right never can be disputed on legal and constitutional principles. If parliament (the three estates of the realm) are allowed to be the supreme legislature, their right is indubitable; and the colonies within themselves sensible how futile all their claims of exemptions from taxation * are, have advanced every specious argument in their defence that their ingenuity could suggest, and some that are the strongest against them. They have urged that the colonies are the king's domain, and not annexed to the realm; and thereby deduce that they have no right to pay obedience to the edicts of parliament; and supported their argu-

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* Taxation forms one of the most essential points of legislature, and nothing can tend more to promote the interests of government and a people, than a perfect knowledge and understanding of this extensive branch of it. I shall more particularly consider the subject in a distinct history of taxation, and a dissertation on taxes, wherein I shall particularly consider the various *operations* of the different taxes—and their particular *effects* and *consequences*.

ments by historical evidence, where the parliament were forbid to interfere in respect to the colonies, they not being within their jurisdiction, as not annexed to the realm. Such a position was the most unfavourable to their cause as could possibly be advanced, as it throws the government of them entirely upon the crown, and takes from them the liberty they now enjoy, the jurisdiction of parliament. If they are not annexed to the realm, the interference of the legislature must be allowed an indulgence from the crown, and a most valuable liberty to the colonists ; as by that they enjoy every particular freedom of Englishmen, the government of the supreme legislature in every degree as British subjects. It was the opinion of the late Lord Hardwicke, the crown has an undoubted right to levy taxes on conquered lands ; and though it is not yet certain whether they have not the same right over all other colonies, it was the opinion of the same great lawyer, that the right of the *parliament* was certain. The colonies plead their charter as an exemption from the authority of parliament to tax them ; but no charter can be granted contrary to the principles of the constitution, therefore no grant could convey an idea of
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of making them a separate and independent body, and to revoke the authority of the legislature, or create a power superior to itself and above its jurisdiction. Whatever rights or privileges are granted by charter, are amenable to certain restrictions; the right of altering and revoking them is undoubtedly in the power that granted it. To show the futility of their arguments against the right of parliament, as well as to mark the disposition of the colonists, we need only observe the claim they lay to the benefit of any public act, such as the Habeas Corpus, and the Bill of Rights, though by their own arguments they have no legal right, by not admitting the jurisdiction of parliament; yet their artful leaders of the America faction claim them as being British subjects; and thus in instances when it is to their advantage, admit the legality of parliament, as they deny and contest it when the power of it is exercised over themselves; and what must be universally allowed, with undeserved lenity to the colonies, at the expence of severity on Great-Britain. With what degree of justice might not the subjects of these kingdoms complain of supporting an extensive colony that is able to support itself? But the views

of the colonists are evident, however they endeavour to conceal them under the puritanic cry of grievances ; their actions carry too plainly their intention to be hid by the most artful deception ; their aim is independant government : and while Great-Britain continued to proceed with tenderness and sollicitation, to draw them to obedience, she would have nursed an adder that would have retorted with all that strength and poignancy that their mistaken hopes from such measures would have matured. The consequence of the colonists rejecting the supreme legislature, and if Great-Britain was to withdraw her protection, would be the most fatal step to the colonists ; for however elated with the high ideas of independency, where is their resource in time of danger but in Great-Britain, where do they seek redress but in the legislature ? And though the enjoyment of peace may make them forget their situation, and the forwardness of some of the active leaders in the American faction may raise false ideas of importance, the time is far remote when they can be able to stand against the invasion of enemies ; and till lately they were so sensible of their dependance, that their addresses and resolves were full
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of expressions of the deep sense of the blessings and happiness they enjoyed under the protection of Great-Britain. And whilst the present plan of reformation is vigorously pursued, the dignity of Great-Britain will always continue to be supported with reciprocal advantage to the colonies as well as to herself—The colonists would evade the authority of the legislature, by saying they would tax themselves; but the sincerity of that profession we have sufficiently experienced. But supposing they were to tax themselves, and raise a revenue equal to the demands of government; as the right was once started, no consideration whatsoever should have made government give up the contest; but that perseverance and spirit so essential to the accomplishment of great actions, gave way to that timidity and irresolution that produced the repeal of the stamp act, from which we experience the dangerous consequence of government relaxing into lenity in hopes of conciliating the turbulent dispositions of its factious members, when it ought to force obedience instead of intreating compliance. Government is like the human body; a too frequent application of lenitives relaxes the solids and weakens the whole frame:
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so in the political body, an unguided lenity, that may be interpreted the effect of timidity and irresolution, relax and unbrace the nerves of government, and throws it into murmur and discontent, that it is only by a constant vigorous exertion of the laws that its dignity can be supported, the order and harmony of society maintained, the affections of the people insured, and that subordination so necessary to the very existence of a state preserved. The want of that spirit and firmness to have withstood the popular clamor, and that discernment to have seen through the representations of interested men, at the critical juncture of the repeal of the stamp act, has been productive of all the evils that has followed. From that moment, government received a shock, that only remonstrance and force can retrieve its power;—for that which was repealed here from a false and wrong idea of right of the colonists, was interpreted by them as an act of *fear*.—A circumstance more favourable to the factious colonists could not have happened; they embraced the opportunity to expose the weakness of their parent country, and expatiated upon their own consequence and power, till that of Great-Britain seemed sunk to

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nothing

nothing to their opposition. But if the stability of government is to give way, if the laws are to be perverted, and the constant and steady course of things to turn from their proper channel for the cry of faction and the clamour of discontent, such government will sink to anarchy.

And though other measures might have been adapted for the purpose of a revenue more judicious than the stamp act, yet when it once was passed, it ought to have been most vigorously enforced. No consideration, no means should have persuaded the repeal; it was the crisis when the question was started, Whether Great-Britain had a right over the colonists? By the repeal it was an almost tacit consent to the contrary, and must then be looked upon as a wanton exertion of power. Thus seduced by the insinuations of distress and grievance, the parliament lost sight of that wisdom and policy that guide their proceedings, and their oversight made way for every disturbance that has followed.—Indeed we may observe, in every step of the colonists, their endeavours to throw off all subjection to Great-Britain, and to become an independant government, and to establish a democracy of their own—
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but the present regulations will no doubt happily prevent the increasing tyranny that has almost usurped all the northern colonies. The Bostonians, who stand foremost in these riots and disturbances, are also the chief instigators of the other colonies to join in the same acts of disobedience. Being led by the sentiments of some men who thrive best in sedition, and not discerning their views, the populace are led to commit the most flagrant hostilities with a most blind and bigotted zeal, and daring intrepidity—but through the wisdom of the present administration, and the measures they have adopted, we need not fear of having perfect tranquility restored, and a just order of government preserved—The contest must be intrepid—and the efficacy may be assured; for though the clamour of the American faction may be loud—yet the phalanx is not so strong as may be imagined. The greatest part of the superior inhabitants of the colonies, are men of honourable principles, who possess just notions of government, and see with concern their countrymen deluded; but the sober voice of reason and justice will ever be lost in the clamour of a faction, especially in a government formed so much on democratic principles

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as the colonies, and which will always be subject to the anarchy of popular governments. The recent acts of violence committed on the property of the East-India Company, shew to what a height the phrenzy of sedition may be raised, and the danger of not exerting a vigorous execution of the laws; if such daring crimes as these are to pass unpunished, the more striking horrors of open rebellion, may be expected to invade the kingdom.

The Boston port bill is a measure planned with the utmost wisdom and policy.—Administration, well aware whatever measures were adopted, must be vigorously enforced, or it would be a mockery of our authority, and like the repeal of the stamp act shew rather our imbecility than our strength and power, has adopted a plan that does equal honour to their humanity and abilities. The most lenient measures that are consistent with the dignity of a nation for such an insult from a colony, are used to bring the colonists to a sense of their duty and error. This bill will operate more forceably than a military power, without its terror; as it strikes to the very internal connections of the town, and will be the more severely felt by the insti-

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gators of the faction, and may be more likely to cause reflection of the heinousness of the offence. It may be said, this punishment is far too mild for so great a crime, and that it is sinking the dignity and importance of this kingdom to adopt it, as the resentment being no ways proportionable to the offence.— But violent measures are always to be adopted with caution, as they are generally pursued with danger; and every reasonable person who wishes to unite the affections and interest of Great-Britain and the colonies, will think no plan so salutary as this could have been applied. A military force might have had its sway, but it would have created jealousy and mistrust; that might have forced obedience, this will draw compliance; and the particular virtue of this bill is, it will operate no longer as a punishment than while they continue refractory and disobedient. As to the stagnation it may cause in our exports, are trifling; as the consumption of those colonies to which the people of Boston will be obliged to send to, for their different commodities, will be the greater, it will make little difference in our exportation, and may be productive of that happy event, the bringing them to a
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due sense of their dependance on Great-Britain. And though a temporary inconvenience must necessarily attend the well disposed part of the town, they will reap the advantages of it in future; they will then be able to pursue their different avocations with safety and protection, which before they prosecuted with fear and timidity.

But before a change could be effected to promise stability to government, and insure protection to the people, the constitution, which was so favourable to popular dissention, must have undergone a thorough alteration. All plans of reformation would have proved ineffectual, whilst the civil government continued under the late form; it would ever have been a bar to effect any change or order but by military force, which must ever be exerted with pain: for the constitution being formed chiefly on democratic principles, it would always have been subject to the anarchy of popular governments. The legislative and executive power being in reality within themselves, the populace would constantly have defeated the supreme power.—The houses of assembly, so far from being the dignity of men meeting to consult for the welfare of the colony, and

to preserve the dignity of government, they are in general slaves to the humours and ignorance of their electors, and instigators of commotion amongst them; that instead of preserving a due order of legislation and government, they have sunk their assemblies to the level of an Athenian mob. A fundamental error in the constitution of the colonies is the house of representatives having the power of chusing the council; this power being lodged in them, makes the constitution a stronger democracy, under a seeming guard of creating a check to it: it is an institution that would always have proved fallacious on its late footing, it being a power created to destroy the end and purport of its institution; and so far from being a support to the executive power, it was a bar to its authority, for being chosen by the people, they would ever have been subject to their controul; and thereby, the king is deprived from being the fountain of honour, and the governor of that aid and assistance the institution meant to afford.—The present act has wisely altered this great defect; the council being now created by the governor, they will be a check to the popular assemblies, and give that strength to the executive power which is so essentially

tially necessary for the preservation of government : being before only a nominal aid, the democratical part of government would always have swayed, and from the limited power of the governor, over-ruled the whole. Thus in a government formed on such inconsistent principles, it is not to be wondered at that no order is preserved, no settled plan of operation, no uniform course of administration pursued, or execution of laws enforced.

The very great difference of the colonists at present and at the grant of the charter ; if *necessity* did not call aloud for a regulation, the wisdom of a legislature, versed in the knowledge of human affairs, would point out the necessity of an alteration : but of late, if a minister attempts any regulation, he is immediately attacked as an innovator of the liberties of the people, as a man catching at arbitrary power, and endeavouring to oppress the subject ; nay even when the most alarming circumstances strongly urges a regulation, the calumny of opposition flies from the shafts of falshood, and malice.

Another erroneous principle in the formation of the government of the colonies, is the manner of chusing the
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grand juries. This great privilege of Englishmen, which makes the execution of the laws in England on the purest principles of justice, from the error of electing them in the colonies may be the greatest tyranny. Being chosen by the people, there is no doubt but of their nominating persons favourable to their principles, and thereby justice too frequently be sacrificed to party ; and from the strong connection of the colonists, may be said to be judges in their own cause, and can never be supposed to be impartial in their verdict. Thus the course of justice may be perverted, and the commission of the most daring crimes escape punishment, and be acquitted under the colour and sanction of the law ; whilst others of less guilt, but of a different nature, may feel the weight of such an injudicious mode of electing the great bulwark of our freedom—juries.

The principles of the government of the colonies seems so inconsistently planned to preserve order and effect subordination, that we need not be surprized to find it too weak to enforce regard—too near the common level to demand respect. When the governor and officers are partly dependant on the people, it breaks down that distinction of rank which

which is the bond of society, and levels that order of men, upon the preservation of which the very existence of a state depends.

To restrain the natural liberty of mankind, and to create a subordination of rank in society, ought to be the primary object in forming a government; and to curb the natural ferocity of the human mind, which will be continually working to throw off subjection, and which infant states strongly feel the force of, is the only way to bring it to perfection. Respect and obedience may then be enforced, the harmony of society preserved, and the dignity of a supreme power maintained.

The regulations provided in the late act for the regulating the civil government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, are framed to remove these important defects, and to give a system of government on the purest principles of wisdom and policy. Every part of this act marks the abilities of a great statesman, and the public principles upon which he acts. Not confining himself to partial representations, his views extend to establish the welfare and happiness of the whole kingdom; and has adopted a system of measures most judiciously

ciously plann'd to restore the dignity of government, and create a love of order and harmony among the people ; which as soon as these regulations take place, from a vigorous and settled plan of administration, we have every reason to expect. When the colonists begin to taste the enjoyment of a well regulated government, they will eagerly embrace a regulation that will yield them peace and ensure their happiness ; and it is to be hoped will abjure those refractory principles instilled in them by their leaders, and see the fallacy of those ideas that, as Cicero says, too frequently prevail in popular governments.—*Honores, quos quieta republica, desperant perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur.*

But to compleat the system of regulations, the illicit trade of the colonists require the attention of administration. The great quantities of all kinds of manufactures and commodities that are smuggled into the colonies, to the great detriment of our commerce, require immediately the strictest prohibition ; and if the old navigation laws, that are so wisely planned to keep up the dependence and cement the union of the two powers, were strictly adhered to, this great national concern would be prevented,

vented, and Great Britain have a constant employ for her manufacturers, and a certain consumption for her commodities. This regulation, which from the diligence of administration we may expect to take place, will revive the declining trade of this kingdom, and more strongly unite her connection with the colonies.

The constant attention of administration to every particular of national import, deserves the highest encomiums from every friend to this kingdom. The vigilance exerted upon every occasion for our domestic regulation, as well as the improvement of our commerce, and for the revival of some of our drooping manufactures, are strong assurances of the happiness we may enjoy under the direction of such able council. The grievance this kingdom laboured under from the state of the gold coin, and the great prejudice it was to our foreign commerce, are now greatly removed. The regulations were no sooner established, than the effect was immediately experienced by the rise of exchange so much in our favour; and from the attention of the noble Lord to this great national concern, we may shortly expect the regulations established upon such found

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principles, as to insure it from ever falling into the same state again : and whilst his Lordship is endeavouring to establish upon just principles the coin of this kingdom, we have the happiness to find his views extend to the prevention of an increasing evil, and to guard against a false species of credit over-running this kingdom, and in which an extensive circulation is carried on to a great amount; by a set of persons called *Bankers*. This bill, though now laid aside, we hope will not escape his Lordship's attention, as it undoubtedly is a most important commercial regulation.

From the experienced virtues and abilities of the noble Lord at the head of administration, and the wisdom and uprightness with which all his actions are conducted, give us room to congratulate our country upon the acquisition of a minister which few periods can boast of. His studious attention to the welfare and prosperity of the kingdom, an economical management of the finances, and attentive endeavours to reduce the national debt—his faithful attachment to his sovereign, and constant attention to the happiness of the people, must create an unbounded esteem in the one, and an unlimited

unlimited confidence in the other. May he long continue to possess that confidence of his sovereign he so deservedly merits, and that reward from the public the wisdom of his administration demands. Our thanks are no less due to the noble Lord at the head of the admiralty, for his vigilant attention to the duty of that important office. Let us recollect the state of our navy at the time of his entering into that station, if it might be called *one* to the first maritime power in the world, and compare it with the present. In what a situation would this kingdom have been in to engage in a war, with not twelve ships able to endure the seas? but by his unremitted diligence, our navy is now in a situation able to defend against every attack of the enemy, and prevent her being surpris'd by *retaliation*. From his Lordship's frugal and œconomical management in this department, and the great regulation preserved in every degree, it will universally be allowed that our navy was never conducted by a more able hand, or directed with greater prudence and œconomy in every degree.

May Great-Britain, who so happily experiences the wisdom of such council,
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long continue to be governed by the same able directors, whose conscious and approved rectitude reverts back with double force and sting, the spleen of faction and discontent.



F I N I S.

